

民主道中港 特刊

亞洲民主，路在何方？

ASIAN DEMOCRACY

The
Road
Ahead

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As a normal citizen, perhaps it is not often that we think about the democracy. But a well and functioning democracy for a country and for its people is important - with it comes the growth of civil rights and freedoms, a more representative government 'for and by the people', and the progress of the country. This special edition covers a few of the democracies in Asia, and in conjunction with the theme of the Social Sciences Festival focuses on the future direction of democracy and democratization in Hong Kong and China.

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Philippines

Major political movements:

From pre-Spanish (1930s) to period of American involvement (1940s), there were no democratic movements as the Spanish people were dealing with national strife and were directly under Spanish rule. One major demonstration in the country's history is the 1986 "People Power" mass mobilization: a non-violent demonstration in which people stood up against the authoritarian and repressing President Marcos. Although there were a few clashes between the reformist and the local government, the fact that the demonstration went underway signified people's conscience of democracy. The result of this public movement led to President Aquino's presidency. Over the past 20 years, there has been a national democratic revolution led by the NPA(National People's Army), the Communist Party of Philippines and the National Democratic, an extension of the 1950's "Huk rebellion" to incorporate workers, peasants, youth, women, and some indigenous peoples.

Current government and political conditions:

Since the election of the first legislative assembly in 1907, the Philippines operates under a bicameral legislature with a Congress that consists of a 24-member Senate and a 269-member House of Representatives. It is common for many members of the Congress move between party memberships throughout their careers. The country enjoys fairly free competitive elections which produced more or less orderly successions of legislatures and presidents.



There is a undoubtedly a wide range of political parties in the Philippines although more than often, the personality and the amount of political backing (such as sponsorships) become the important aspects in contributing to the form of political system.

Assessment of current democratic development:

In recent years, there have been repeated accusations that the military have been accused repeatedly as being responsible for the extra-judicial killings of left-wing political activists and targeting civil society groups, in the name of fighting communist organization. The clash between the civil and military poses threats to democracy in civil society (Alston 2007). Between 1946 and 2001, the future of the Philippines struggled between democratic competition for high offices within the archipelago's landed and commercial elites, and strong man rule (Anderson 1998: 192-226). The country also faces many cases of corruption, such as the impeachment of President Estrada in 2001 due to his involvement in illegal activities. Electoral fraud has also proved an obstacle for democracy, as in 2005, President Arroyo's administration reportedly used intimidation and opposition elimination to tweak election results. According to Freedom House, democracy and the Philippines are tied closely to political rights and civil liberties, and the government should endeavor to continue focusing on a democratic constitutional process.

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South Korea

Major political movements:

The 1980 Gwangju Democratization Movement against violent suppression and injustices of the dictatorship style military regime of Chun Doo-hwan was a major time marker for political movements as it was one of the first instances of South Korean popular uprising. In addition, though the movement was overtaken by the South Korean army, it signified the beginnings of South Korea's road to democracy. During the mid-1980s, there were emergences of many different new parties, which included Minminhyup (People's Democratic Movement Coalition), Minchongryun (The Youth Coalition for Democratic Movement) as its centre, and Kukminhoeui (National Headquarters for Democracy and Reunification), adding to the dissident movement. Urban petit bourgeois were involved in rising up against military regime suppression, during the late 1980s. In the 1990s the Democratic Labor Union Movement for Workers, as well as the Korea Trade Union Council (Chonnohyup) was established for the national unity of democratic labor unions. Democracy in present South Korea has been most vibrant on the rapidly developing internet civil society and online journalism domain. Owing also to the leadership of progressive parties in South Korea, dissident sites, social movement initiatives, community sites and other web inventions conducive to democracy are slowly underway.



Current government and political conditions:

South Korea (Republic of Korea) operates under a presidential system. Under this system, the president is elected to a single 5-year term. Political parties in South Korea include the Grand National Party (GNP), Democratic Party (DP), Liberal Forward Party (LFP), Creative

Korea Party (CKP), Democratic Labor Party (DLP) and New Progressive Party (NPP). The country has already achieved universal suffrage in which people aged 19 or above are bestowed with this right.

Assessment of current democratic development:

Over the twenty years of rapid procedural democracy, it is fair to say that there are substantially more political freedoms such as expression and the transparency of government actions and the civil society in South Korea has been fulfilling its roles as checking and balancing the government and state power in areas such as political or economic issues. According to research by Park (2009), Korea's

democratic development satisfies the democratic criteria such as universal adult suffrage, free and fair elections, multiparty competition and alternative sources of information. It is also important to consider the fact that political culture is also an important part in influencing the development of democracy. Yet, in recent years, under the background of certain social conflicts and wealth disparities, a majority of respondents in a national assembly public survey expressed that economic growth is more important than democracy. Nevertheless, according recent findings of the East

Asian Barometer, confidence and affection in political institutions (such as political parties and the effectiveness of the National Assembly) is growing. As with many other countries in Southeast Asia, complete democracy in South Korea is still being consolidated.

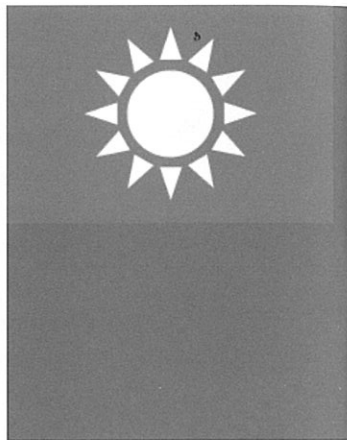
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Taiwan

Major political movements:

In the 1950s the KMT (國民黨, Kuomintang, Chinese Nationalist Party), lead by Chiang Kai-shek (蔣介石) and his son Chiang Ching-kuo (蔣經國), established a direct election system in 1950 in which voters directly cast their votes for parties, political leaders that they want to see elected. KMT claimed that it was pursuing a democratic development, but back then people still couldn't claim opposition towards the government in any way. It was until later in the 1960s when the younger generation who had received higher education had a passion for democracy and involved actively in voting for qualified leaders. Many of them claimed themselves as "Dangwai" (黨外), which means to be outside of the ruling party. During the end of 1960s and the 1970s, candidates in the opposition party caught the chance of winning limited seats in the Parliament (議會) and Control Yuan (監察院), which symbolized a great breakthrough in democratic development. In the 1980s a new election law was passed, accelerating the democratic reform.



Current government and political conditions:

Taiwan now has a multi-party democracy with major parties like Kuomintang (KMT or Nationalist Party) and Democratic Progressive Party (民進黨, DPP) and several small parties. The Constitution was established in 1946 and last amended in 2005. Universal suffrage is guaranteed for more than 20 years.

Assessment of current democratic development:

Firstly, Taiwan's political system is quite complicated in that it is not presidential (總統制), nor parliamentary system (議會制); it is a semi-

four separate powers: The Executive headed by the President, the Legislative Yuan (立法院), the Control Yuan and the Judicial Yuan (司法院). All parts are under the President. And it is difficult to function as there are fifteen patterns of interactions between all the powers. Secondly, regarding the cross-straits relations, the current controversy is not only on the term 'One China', but also about the way in which is problem is being dealt with. Who should be authorized to conduct a negotiation with PRC? And once an agreement is signed between two sides, who will be giving approval to this signed agreement? So far, Taiwan does not have this legislative design. Taiwan's constitution

framework has not yet covered these aspects and there are still a lot to be improved in the whole structure. Elite and intellectual mobilization of democracy was a distinctive pattern in Taiwan's ideological marketplace after late 1950s and helped to promote democracy in Taiwan. But it was after twenty-five years, that the political sphere has now become more vibrant to enable an opposition to pressure the political centre to reform and democratize. In Taiwan, the process of political change toward democracy has been gradual; more political power was dispersed from the centre to society, along with creative political leadership. Such things are however crucial factors to the country's

successful democratization.

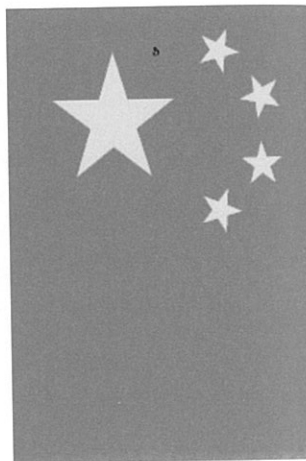
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China

Major political movements:

The early 1950s witnessed dramatic changes brought by Mao Zedong (毛澤東) and CCP (中國共產黨, Chinese Communist Party) in China. China was unified and followed a command economy designed by Mao and CCP. This centralized economy life turned out to be a failure because of low productivity, and unstable political situation brought by violence and poverty. Deng Xiaoping (鄧小平) took over the reigns of CCP power in 1979 after a series of political struggles. The representatives of people's congress (人民代表大會) from the district to the national level were elected according to indirect elections under new laws in 1978. The rules for the people's congress were set forth in the revised PRC Constitution (中共憲章) of 1982. Only one direct election system was at that time: villagers can directly elect their village congress representatives, who in turn elect their chair person and one or two deputies. 1988 the National people's congress passed a village election law. Village elections are in two stages: a primary stage in which villagers vote for the candidates they have nominated; a run-off election follows for electing a council from the final short list of competing candidates. Village elections are now the most fair, open and democratic elections in the PRC.



Current government and political conditions:

CCP established People's Republic of China in 1949, making it a Communist party-led state with 73.1 million Communist Party members and 8 minor parties under CCP supervision. The Constitution was established in 1982 and was revised several times, most recently in 2004. No other formal political parties exist in the country.

Written by: Sylvie Song

Assessment of current democratic development:

According to Historian Francis Fukuyama (福山教授): "A lack of constraint by either law or elections means that accountability flows only in one direction, upwards towards the Communist Party and central government and not downwards toward the people. There is a whole range of problems in contemporary China regarding issues like corruption, environmental damage, property rights and the like that cannot be properly resolved by the existing political system." In addition to these problems of dealing with the political system, China is also facing more and more criticism of human rights, internet censorship, religion problems etc. Recent case of Google's withdrawing from China market launched, a new wave of criticism toward China's censorship and insincere commitment towards online and society democracy and instead acting according to the needs of the Communist government. Since 1980, Mainland China's four marketplaces evolved more slowly and differently than they did on Taiwan. Except at the village level, China's highly centralized political system has opposed creating a local governance system based on direct, open, free and democratic elections between candidates directly nominated by the people. There has, however, in recent years been experimentation of local district elections in a few of the city's provinces signifying a certain improvement in the democratic consciousness. Nevertheless, many scholars believe that unless the current governance structure develops severe problems producing widespread social grievances, the PRC's leaders will have little incentive to initiate a drastic political change of the people's congress election system.

閻小駿博士談： 中港民主之路

民主運動和爭取民主的概念相信很多香港人都會懂，但你又是否知道香港和中國在民主發展上有何特點和發展路向？我們採訪了香港大學政治及公共行政教授閻小駿來探討香港和中國的民主道路。

問：在九七回歸後，你認為在香港民主發展上最大的轉變是甚麼？

閻：我覺得香港的民主運動有很大的轉變。第一，它的本土性在加強。就是說，在九七之前香港是一個英屬殖民地，所以人民對本地政治的興趣沒有回歸、回復主權之後那麼濃厚。香港的主體意識和它的本土性、本土動力有很大希望。第二，本來民主或政治這種抗爭性的議題在九七前比較邊緣化的，但九七後愈來愈成為政治生活中一個很中性的議題。再一個大的轉變就是香港的民主運動對政府政策及公共輿論的影響已經愈來愈大，作用也愈來愈明顯。

問：現在在中國，還有沒有可能發生類似像孫中山所推行革命的民主運動？在可見的未來會不會發生一些類似的運動？

閻：我覺得這是個很好的問題，但問題在於我們是社會科學家、政治學家，手上沒有水晶球，所以很難預測未來。但是，我覺得這個問題是在說有沒有的社會運動發生，這要從兩方面看，一方面是有社會力量不斷高漲，放開另一方面就是黨和國家的適應能力愈來愈強。改革開放以後，市場經濟改革帶來了很多新的社會矛盾，加上舊有的體制造成一些矛盾，讓中國現在的社會問題很多，民主運動的抗議情緒不斷地提高。這樣看來，發生大的民主運動還是有可能的。但從國家體制方面來看則不然。中國共產黨和中華人民共和國這個國家體制在改革開放以後的適應性愈來愈強。

採訪：陳翎, Yixia Gu
採訪副本：Angel Liu

因為它針對這個社會情況的變化和抗議運動的發展，不斷地調整它的政策，甚至整個權力架構，這個黨國體制的適應性愈來愈強。最後，大規模的群眾運動到底會不會發生，就要看這兩方面的平衡。如果社會運動增長的速度和能量超過了黨和國家適應的步伐的話，那麼就有可能，相反則可能性不太大。

問：你認為甚麼模式的民主適合香港和中國？

問：我覺得民主可能沒有一個模式。我們在發展民主改革時，第一要考慮的是適應性的問題，是不是適應這個文化，因為我們談政治文化是對於政治體制有塑造作用。那麼，首先要談論是不是適應這個文化傳統。第二，的是民主的模型要考慮人民的接受程度，最能調解公眾輿論的模式當然是最好的。第三就是不同社會的社會利益，就是社會模式和社會結構都不一樣，要有一個很好的模式才能夠調整這個多元社會的利益結構（under-structure of social interest）。中國的社會利益結構和香港的社會利益結構完全不一樣。我認為可能是因為有不相同的模式來定義這種社會利益的調整，民主本身就是給大的模式一個公平、公開、透明的機制，讓各種不同的社會利益都能發聲，讓各種不同的社會利益都能在一個很公平的舞台上進行一種協商的共識。所以，我覺得關鍵還是適應性的問題。就是要適應它的文化、社會輿論、以至這個社會利益的結構。



問：那你認為在實行民主上面，中國和香港有一些相似之處，還是非常的不同？

閻：我覺得很難講，因為這算是個預測。但我想兩者肯定會有同有異。首先從經濟發展來講，香港是個較成熟發達的經濟體系，但中國還處於發展中的階段，論在人民的物質生活、收入水平還是教育治安狀況方面，肯定不是能跟上海和香港比。故平均而言，兩者的經濟步伐肯定不一樣，所以我想，它們的民主的步伐也不一樣。此外，社會利益的分配也不一樣，所以最後調整這個利益的結果肯定也不一樣。第三，香港的民主運動起到的作用當然是很明顯的，應此跟中國的差別很大。

「香港的民主運動當然在這裏面起到明顯的作用就是很中國的差別很大」

問：很多人對香港民主發展受到中國影響有一些憂心，你有什麼看法？

閻：基本法的一國兩制就是中國所確定下來的一個現任制式，那民主當然可能在大框架下發展，這一點中國可是很有影響力的。在國外

一方面來講，中國對香港民主基本上允許它有一定的發展空間，和大陸完全不一樣。所以，我覺得香港民主的前景非常好。首先，它有一個社會基礎非常深厚的民主運動。第二，它有一個能夠在議會裡發生作用的一個民主牌和民主的力量。第三，中國確實給予它相當多的空間，包括二零一七年之後逐步實行雙普選。但是香港社會在未來的過渡時期發揮怎麼樣的作用、發揮到甚麼程度，我覺得對最後的民主發展是非常關鍵的。

問：你認為六四為香港留下了或可能留下一些甚麼的影響？

閻：這個事情我覺得是中國現代史上的一個風波，而它的關鍵在於時機。對香港而言，那是在回歸的前夜，這對香港人回歸的心理狀態變化影響很大，這個餘波一直存在到今天。我覺得，關鍵還是要看現在的是中國政府相比在十年前之前的中國政府，在那個事情上是往前進，還是在那個基礎上不斷適應變革。如果有適應變革的話，我覺然後看到它在變革中有甚麼不足的地方。

後記：

良好的民主發展是國家繁榮旺盛、民心安定的基礎。值得關注的是，雖然香港是中國的一部分，但是它和中國大陸的民主發展都著不同的步伐運行，因此看一個國家或地區民主的程度要從社會，文化，經濟和歷史背景等方面來作出評估。



Democratic transition of 香港民主轉型的障礙

Being a British colony, Hong Kong has never had a full democracy until 1997. After the handover of sovereignty, Hong Kong began to undergo gradual and ordered democratic transition under the governance of the Basic Law. The degree of representation of the HKSAR government rose with the increase of the direct and indirect elected seats as well as the abolishment of the official and appointed seats in the Councils. Moreover, there was emergence of political parties to replace the social organizations, so different groups of interest got a voice in the government. Simultaneously, Hong Kong residents became more and more concerned about politics, favoring democratic development. In short, Hong Kong SAR only began to enjoy a high degree of autonomy under the beginnings of democratization.

In examining the progress of democracy, the political culture of citizens is an important aspect to take into consideration. Democratization in Hong Kong is obstructed by Hong Kong people because most of them are self-interested. They would support democracy only without conflicting with their

own economic interest. At present, Hong Kong makes up a large proportion of population amongst Asian countries which don't support democracy. However, in comparison to Taiwan, Singapore, Philippines and Mongolia, Hong Kong is slightly better on its statistics. All in all, the robustness of democratic support in Hong Kong may reflect a dynamic by which discontent with democratic progress and dissatisfaction with the government's policy performance has reinforced the desire for fuller democracy, rather than weakened compared to other Asian countries. In fact, Hong Kong people feel ambivalence about the democratization in Hong Kong. They carry a strong vision for

"Democratization in Hong Kong is obstructed by Hong Kong people because most of them are self-interested"

Democracy, but are facing the dilemma of gaining democratic participation or keeping an efficient administration in government.

Though most Hong Kong people are concerned with politics within the territory, however, they feel helpless and frustrated in understanding or taking part in the politics which may slow down the process of democratic participation becoming widespread. This boils down to a sense of alienation towards the government. One of the main reasons behind the alienation is a public notion that Hong Kong is led by a group of elite and thus citizen influence over local politics is limited. Upon close inspection, another problem is that because there are so many political parties in Hong Kong such as the Democratic Party which supports quick democratization, the pro-government Democratic Alliance for the Betterment of Hong Kong, and the pro-government, business populated Liberal Party the interplay of interests and conflicts lead to political divisions which are not conducive to democratization. Moreover, the perception of the degree of integrity held by government officials plays an important role in influencing the level of trust that people have of government institutions in the city.

The progress of democratization can also be assessed through public perception of the current status of democracy in a country. Given that 40% of East Asia Barometer survey respondents believed that the change from the colonial to SAR regime was moving in a more dictatorial direction, and less so democratic, indicates that public opinion is concerned with the nature of governance as well as their life as a Hong Kong citizen. Relatively speaking, the trust of the political institutions, especially the political parties is very little. Moreover, only fewer than half of Hong Kong people are satisfied with the way democracy works in Hong Kong.

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Conclusion:

There is a strong indication of political frustration among Hong Kong people, who aspire to democracy because it embodies certain values that they treasure, such as the demands of the people as the basis for government. For the city to be lagging in its pace for democratization says something about the influence of the Beijing government on the SAR government. In order for Hong Kong to continue on its road of democratization, the idea of democratic legitimacy, mass recognition of the benefits that democracy can bring to society, and a strong sense of political efficacy, need to be instilled.

全面的民主從不曾見於殖民地年代的香港。直至回歸後，香港的民主才依基本法循序漸進地發展。隨著兩會（區議會和立法會）增加直選和間選席次、廢除官守和委任議席，香港政府的代表性亦有所提高。此外，政黨更取代了社會團體的角色，將不同的聲音帶入政府。與此同時，政治意識漸高的香港人也開始支持民主發展。香港特區可謂在民主化之初期已享受著高度的自治。

要探討民主進程，大眾市民的政治文化是不可或缺的考慮因素。在本地，民主建設是基於大部份香港人的自身利益——他們只會在不損害自己的經濟利益的情況下才支持民主。而相比起其他亞洲國家，香港仍有為數不少的市民對民主不予支持。不過，香港的情況在數據上依然較台灣、和蒙古等地。

等地略勝一籌。總括來說，「香港民主的支持度存在著變數，因為大眾對民主進程和政府施政表現的不滿，兩者均增強，而非削弱了對全面民主的訴求，情況就如在其他亞洲地區的一樣」事實主上，香港人對是否進行民主化仍舉棋不定。這邊廂，他們對民主滿懷憧憬；另邊廂，他們又陷入要爭取民主參與還是保持政府行政效率的兩難局面。

的而且確，大部份香港人對本地政治並非漠不關心；但同時，他們對理解和參與政治亦感到無助和沮喪，民主的廣泛參與可能因此而受阻。這現象可歸咎於市民對政府存有異離感。大眾普遍認為香港是由一群精英份子所領導，一般升斗小民對本地政治的影響力根本微不足道。而且，政治舞台上許許多多的政黨（如支持迅速民主化的民主黨、靠攏政府的民建聯、親政府和商人的自由黨等）之間的利益衝突均產生了對民主發展不利的政治分歧。另外，大眾持有政府官員保持廉潔的觀念，這在市民對政府機構的信任中亦扮演著重要的角色。

大眾對民主狀況的觀感也可用以評估當地的民主進程。根據亞洲民主動態調查，40%受訪的香港市民認為香港回歸中國是步向「更獨裁」，民主程度減少。這反映出民意同時關注政權的性質以及作為香港人的生活。相對而言，受訪者對政治團體的信心低落，尤以對政黨的信任為甚。此外，僅有未及一半的市民對香港的民主工作感到滿意。

總結：

香港人重視某些民主價值（如人民的需求即政府之基本），因此對民主心嚮往之，但種種跡象顯示他們對現今政治感到大為失望。而從香港民主化蹣跚的步伐中，亦隱約可見北京當局對特區政府的影響。要讓香港走好這一條民主之路，必須灌輸大眾民主合法性的觀念，讓他們認同民主之利，並提升他們的政治功効意識。

革命起香港

當年香港：

二十世紀初的香港是中西文化交流的匯點，她的特殊的身份令其在辛亥革命中扮演著重要的角色也是中國內地出現變革的溫床。

香港作為英國殖民地，無異於一個「政治孤島」，滿清政府鞭長莫及，無論是保皇會或革命黨人在港均擁有相當自由的活動空間。他們紛紛在此策劃政治活動。香港殖民地政府在回應晚清政治變局時，在取態上不得不考慮到本地採於人民的取向，以殖民地的安定為大前提，對各黨派人士採取容忍態度。港府甚至曾向革命黨示好，港督卜力就曾於1900年義和團之亂期間企圖撮合孫中山先生與李鴻章會面，促成兩廣獨立。此舉正正表現了香港局部利益與英國整體利益的矛盾，而這局勢為革命黨提供了有利條件。

「我於何時及如何而得革命思想及新思

除了合適的政治環境，香港在革命黨人的思想啟蒙上也扮演著重要的角色。與政局社會不穩定的晚清中國比較，自自由就是香港對革命黨人而言最可貴的資產。革命黨第一份傳機關報——1900年，《中國日報》，便於香港印刷發行，傳播了革命思想。宗教上，基督教在開埠後的傳入華人社區，提倡改革，孫中山先生就是在香港受洗的。這對革命志士的革新思想亦有影響。

同盟會香港分會第二任會長馮自由的一席話，正道出了香港當時的角色：

「故在一部革命史上，香港地位之重要，實佔全部之第一頁。」

革命精神為中國做到甚麼？

孫中山說：「共和國家，人民是國家的主人，官吏是人民的公僕。民國成立十年，那些公僕太壞了，把中國攪得不成樣子……」孫中山所說攪亂民國的所謂「公僕」，指的是袁世凱、張作霖、曹錕、龍濟光等人，他們或打著民國的旗號，行封建專制之實；或以民國名義，割據自雄；或扯下民國旗號，公然以帝制自為。所以孫先生說：

「以後不用革命精神來改造民國，再沒有別的希望。」

革命要推翻既有政權，革新整個社會政制的結構，一定的武力是無可避免的。在缺乏軍力與軍閥抗衡的前提下，孫先生的革命精神就沒法實行。

……我之此等思想發源地即為香港。」

孫中山《在香港大學的演說》（1923）

孫先生一生投身革命行列，在中國實際社會和政治改革上的確未有大作為，但其革新思想並以人民為主的精神，為國人提供了另一層次的貢獻。革新人民思想，是真正革命無法或缺的一環。「三民主義」的主體在「民」，沒有人民思想上的認受，談不上為人民服務。

今日香港：

「過去，香港的特殊地位對中國民主發展有重要影響。今天，我們作為香港人，作為中國人，又怎麼看香港的特色和與中國的關係呢？當我們如此珍視自由、爭取民主時，又能否把我們的信念帶給祖國？」

以上問題張貼在社科節展覽的「民主牆」展板上。觀者有以下的回應：

「我認為香港人常喊要民主，目標不應只放在香港的政制發展，而要以推動中國民主為方向，畢竟在大家說珍惜民主的時候，香港仍是中國的一部份」

「我倒也認為一些親中人士亂扣帽子，將一些民主派描述成『反中亂港』，這也是對香港民主進程不健康的」

「根在香港」

「我覺得經濟最實際，如果民主有助維持香港特色及獨特性就支持下啦，但反對過份堅持民主而拖累本港經濟，影響香港人生活水平！」

「何謂『過份』？另，因維護民主而造成一定程度的經濟發展延後又是否『拖累』？影響生活水平？商家的？百姓的？」

「沒有HK，文革年代中國已玩完」

「民主是令國家富強的途徑，必須依實情發展有自己特色的制度，打倒大美國帝國主義入侵我中華，中華民族萬歲！」

「毛老自言『革命無罪』，昔今時之革命，卻被視為反革命。為曉波、作人等默哀」

Event Photos

香港民主示範點—中國的民主道路應該如何走？論壇



「港起革命」展覽



「香港模式：先經濟，後民主？」論壇



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